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I Comparative studies of ancient Chinese literature

Tsung yi JAO

1. On Names and Scripts

Names were a great concern among ancient peoples. In an Near Eastern epic and in the *Lao Tzu*, 老子 names and naming are mentioned; both of them consider the abscence of names to be the very beginning of the world.

The recently discovered manuscripts at Ma Wang Tui 馬王堆 make it possible to offer a new interpretation of the first chapter of *Lao Tzu*. In the *Ma Wang Tui Lao Tzu*, instead of *chiao* 徼, the character *chiao* 噭 is used in the sentence '*kuan ch'i* (*so*) *chiao*' 觀其(所)徼. This character *chiao* 噭 is defined as 'to call' in the *Shuo Wen*, 說文 and it is phonologically and semantically similar to the word *hao* 號. The sentence '*kuan ch'i so chiao*' can be interpreted as 'to observe what things are being called'. The first chapter of *Lao Tzu* is a disscussion on the origin of names. The expression, '*kuan miao*' 觀眇 probably refers to the observation of the meaning while '*kuan chiao*' 觀徼 refers to the observation of names.

In the *Chou Li* 周禮 the term *ming* 名 appears in many passages. Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 glosses it as '*tzu*' 字. In later classical works, the characters *ming* 名, *wen* 文 and *tzu* 字 are used indiscriminately. (Cheng Hsüan correctly glossed the sentence '*pi yeh cheng ming hu*'

必也正名乎 as 'to rectify, to standardize the written characters'.)

The *Shuo Wen* defines the character (word) *ming* 名 as 'to identify (lit. to name) oneself; it is composed of "mouth" 口 and "night" 夕. "Night" means darkness. People cannot see eachother in darkness, so they use their mouths to identify themselves,'. Such an explanation coincides with military practices mentioned in other classical works. 'To identify oneself verbally in darkness'——the original meaning of *ming* 名 may be related to military practices.

The allocation of *ming* 名 is generally attributed to ancient sages such as Huang Ti 黃帝 in classical works. The character *ming* 名, which appears to function as a verb, is encountered in the oracle bone inscriptions. In the bronzes, the character *ming* 名 occurs frequently and is used in the sense of 'to name, to record'. The so-called '*tsu hui*' 族徽 (clan marks) appearinng on the bronzes can be divided into five categories: (1) personal names, (2) clan names, (3) place names, (4) official titles and (5) names of ancestors.

In the *Chou Li*, there is an official in charge of '*ch'uan tao*' 傳道 (transmitting things said, i. e., oral traditions). This word *tao* 道 is comparable to the first word *tao* 道 of *Lao Tzu*'s saying '*tao k'ê tao*' 道可道(the 'Way' that can be transmitted). Taoism originated from the 'office of historian' 史官, but the *tao* 道 of Taoism is more sublime than the *tao* (talkings, legends and oral traditions) of the 'office of historian'.

According to Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒, there is a necessary and inherent relationship between names and reality. In making judgements between right and wrong, 'names' serve as a criterion.

In addition to the well-known fact that Confucius mentioned the 'rectification of names' 正名, the expression '*cheng ming*' 正名 also appears in the *Wu Kuang Ts'an Chien* 娶光殘簡 (Wu Kuang is a person of the Yin Dynasty). Apparently, there is a long tradition of *cheng ming* starting from the Yin Dynasty.

In the bibliographic chapter of the *Han Shu* 漢書, we are told, 'the school of *ming* 名家 is derived from the office of *li* 禮官'. Such an opinion is probably based on the fact that drawing sharp distinctions between *ming* 名 (names, positions) and *wu* 物 (matters) was the major concern of the 'office of rituals' 禮官. On the other hand, the Taoists wanted to do away with all ritual. They aimed to restore the state of '*wu ming*' 無名 ('namelessness'), a state in which

they consider everything to be in changeless equilibrium. The emphasis on names and the wish to discard names is the point where Confucism and Taoism diverge. Without recognizing this fact, a proper understanding of Chinese literature cannot be obtained.

2. Oaths and Literature

The styles of literature can generally be divided into two categories: sarcasm (speaking by contraries) and praise. In the case of *Shih Ching* 詩經, *feng* 風 is close to the former while *hsiung* 頌 is close to the latter.

In the ancient world, hymns dedicated to gods, in particular the god of the sun, occupied an important position in literature. However, the god of the sun as eulogized in Chinese literature in such works as *Ch'u Tz'u* 楚辭, *feng-shan shu* 封禪書 and the brick inscriptions does not seem to enjoy an outstanding position among other dieties. The hymn to the sun recorded in the *Ta Tai Li Chi* 大戴禮記 and the *ta chüan* chapter of *Shang Shu* 尙書大傳 is merely an extract from a *Shang Shu* 尙書 passage praising the duke of Chou 周公.

With the exception of the ode *ho jen shih* 何人斯, the ten odes beginning with *chieh nan shan* 節南山 are said to be sarcastic poems directed against king Yu 幽王. *Ho jen shih* is not an ironic poem but an oath which reads 'Here are the three creatures (for sacrifice), and I will take an oath to you'.

In the age when gods have a high status, people often take an oath against their enemies. Such practices are recorded in written materials, e. g. the last section of the Hammurabi Code and the *Tsu Ch'u Wen* 詛楚文. In the *Chou Li* 周禮, there is an office in charge of oath-taking.

In swearing an oath, one makes a contract with the gods to express one's sincerity. The procedures of oath-taking are recorded in many classical works; and the recently excavated *Hou Ma Meng Shu* 侯馬盟書 provides more information about the rituals involved. In addition to the sacrifice of victims, there are records that a square board *fang ming* 方明 used to represent the gods of the six directions. This information aids our understanding of the *Li Sao* 離騷 passage which reads (in David Hawkes's translation):

濟沅湘以南征，就重華而陳辭.

"I crossed the Yüan and Hsiang and journeyed south-ward. Till I came to where Ch'ung Hua was and made my plaint to him."

巫咸將夕降兮，懷椒糈而要之.

"I heard that Wu Hsien was descending in the evening. So I lay in wait with offierings of peppered rice-balls."

Based on the statement that the chapter *chao hun* 招魂 is the master piece of prayings (*Wen Hsin Tiao Lung: chu meng* 文心雕龍祝盟篇), some scholars have proposed that *Ch'u Tz'u* 楚辭 represents a kind of shamanistic verse. However, in the same chapter of the *Wen Hsin*, Liu Hsieh 劉勰 also mentions oaths, the discussion of which is applicable to the *Li Sao*. One of the main themes of the *Li Sao* is the author's loyalty and the search for gods and spirits to witness his innocence. For example, " And the righteousness within me was clearly manifest 耿吾既得此中正兮 " and " I looked all around over the earth's four quarters 相覽觀于四極 ". The underlying idea is similar to that of a *meng* 盟 (covenant). The *Shih Ming* 釋名 defines the word *meng* 盟 as 'to declare, to tell one's matters to the gods'. Being slandered, Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 utters his complaint and wants to manifest his purity. The imaginative, decorative narration of his voyage throughout heaven and earth was probably inspired by the ideas of *fang ming* 方明 which represents all directions in swearing an oath. Cu'ü Yüan merely speaks through the mouth of a shaman while Ch'ü Yüan himself is not necessarily a shaman, nor are his writings shamanistic verses.

Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 defines tsu 詛 as 'an oath on a minor matter'. In latter traditions, as Liu Hsieh pointed out, tsu 詛 comes to assume an imprecatory connotation.

3. Epics and 'Narration and Singing'

The origin of the Indic epics is said to be *kiratana*, a narrative form composed of stories and songs.

The translation into Chinese of the Buddhist *Jātaka*, 本生經, also composed of stories and songs, was accompanied by the importing of 'narration and singing'. It is recorded in the *Kao Sêng Chuan* 高僧傳 of the Liang Dynasty that Ts'ao Chih 曹植 composed the hymns

Tai Tzu Sung 太子頌 and *Shan Sung*. 贍頌. Although Ch'ên Yin-k'ê 陳寅恪 casts doubt of the reliability of this record, there is textual evidence showing that a monk Sêng I 僧意 composed a new melody for the hymn of *Shan Sung* during the Liu-Sung 劉宋 Dynasty. This *Shan Sung* is probably a composition modelled on Buddhist 'narration and singing' 講唱.

There are no lengthly Chinese epics. The following reasons may account for this lack: (1) the structure of classical Chinese is too terse and (2) Chinese people do not emphasize narration. However, there is a literary style similar to the epic, namely, *shui* 說 (speech of persuasion). The passages of *Chuang Tzu* 莊子 and the style of the *fu* 賦 which are full of exaggerative and flowery description can also be taken as a kind of epic.

Among the Chinese minorities, there are many oral epics, such as the Tibetan *Ke Sha Erh* 格薩爾 and the Mongolian *Ke Erh Shih K'e Han* 格爾斯可汗, The minority Shui Chia 水家 in Kweichow 貴州 has an epis of creation which incorporates terms such *Yü Huang* 玉皇 and Tao Kuang 道光, a fact showing that this spic continued to develop along the course of Chinese history.

The legend of human creation is first seen in the west Asian epic *Emūma Elis*. In China, such a legend appears in the *Feng Su T'ung* 風俗通 (Han Dynasty) where Nü Kua 女媧 creats human beings with mud. There are also many legends about the births of emperors in the *wei shu* 緯書 of the Han Dynasty and similar legends can be discovered among other peoples and in other periods.

Both in India and China, there are stories about the unevenness of the earth and heaven: and both Buddha and Nü Kua can assume many different shapes. It would be very interesting if the relationship between the legends concerning Nü Kua and the legends of India could be revealed.

As one of the peoples who have legends about a great flood, the Chinese put the time of human creation after the flood. Starting in the T'ang Dynasty, the story about the harnessing of the flood-waters by Ta Yü 大禹 flourished.

The chapter *ch'êng hsiang* of *Hsün Tzu* 荀子成相篇 can be taken as a kind of short epic which has the form of lines of 3, 5, 4, 3 words in sequence. This composition may be modelled on folk epic. and in turn, is probably the prototype of *t'an t'zu* 彈詞 (a recitation

with string and drum accompaniment). In the Yüan and Ming Dynasties, imitations of the *ch'êng hsiang* 成相 chapter were produced.

The literary style *chiang Ch'ang* 講唱 (narrative and singing) continued to develop during the T'ang and Sung Dynasties. While Chinese novels were being enriched by Buddhist stories about supernatural powers, the techniques of *chiang ch'ang* were being refined. There are fine distinctions between chanting *fan pai* 梵唄 (Buddhist hymns) and the *chiang ch'ang* of Buddhist stories. The popularity, skilfulness and various regional styles of *chiang ch'ang* are mentioned in contemporary sources. Two long-lasting results of the wide-spread popularity of *chiang ch'ang* should be mentioned.

(1) Shen K'uo 沈括 and Chu Hsi 朱熹 adduce it to explain the word hsieh 些 in the *Ch'u Tz'u* 楚辭, though the relationship is far from certain.

(2) The *chu sheng* 助聲 (inserted words outside a melodic form) *lu* 魯, *liu* 流, *lu* 盧 and *lou* 樓 (coming from the Sanskrit letters ṛ, ṝ, ḷ and ḹ) penetrated deep into Chinese literature. Starting as early as the *Wei Ch'eng Chü* 渭城曲 of the T'ang Dynasty, different characters representing sounds similar to those four *chu sheng* have been used in *tzu*-poetry 詞, in the Tung chieh yüan *Hsi Shang Chi* 董解元西廂記 and other song texts.

4. Poetry and Zen

According to the *Kao Sêng Chuan* 高僧傳 written by Hui Chiao 慧皎, *the Dhyāna-niṣṭhita-samādhi-dharmaparyāya-sūtra* 坐禪三昧經 was translated into Chinese in the late Han period, a time earlier than Bodhidharma 達磨 who is supposed to have been the first preacher of Zen in China.

The word Zen is first used in poetry by Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運. The coining of the term *ch'u hsing* 觸興 (strike of inspiration), which is similar to the notion *hsing hsiang* 興象 (inspiration and image) put forth in the T'ang Dynasty, is attributed to a friend of Tao I 道壹, in the Tung-Chin 東晉 Dynasty.

Since the Six Dynasties, there have been many monks noted for their skill in writing poems, e. g., Hui Hsiu 惠休 of the Liu-Sung and Chen Kuan 眞觀 of the Sui Dynasty. In addition to poetry, there have also been theories of poetry put forth by monks. However, the

major concern of these theories is with the form, skill and wording of poetry. The relationship between Zen and poetry is not touched upon.

After Hui Nêng 惠能 established the school of Zen in China, Zen-verse (偈 gêthâ) become very popular. As they are a means of preaching and enlightenment, most of the *chi* 偈, though they may be profound philosophically, do not deal with feelings and emotions. Along those who were capable of creating good poems, Chiao Jan 皎然, and Kuan Hsiu 貫休 synthesized the form of poetry and the substance of Zen into a harmonious unity. The relationship between poetry and Zen is metaphorically ellaborated by Ta Kuan 達觀 who states,

> "Zen is similar to spring and words are similar to flowers. The spring realizes itself in flowers and all the flowers are spring. Flowers exist in spring and all spring is flowers. How can we say that Zen and words are two matters?"

On the other hand, there are poetry critics who benefited from Zen. Ssu-kung T'u 司空圖 was able to grasp the essence of Zen in poetic creation and yet not be bound by it. In poetry criticism, he also borrowed many ideas from Zen, for example, the notion of *Yüan hsiang* 圓相 (a circle representing perfection) and *ch'iao i hsiang wai* 超以象外 (transcendence of the form).

In the same way Yen Yü 嚴羽 also uses many concepts from Zen in discussing poetry, for axample, *wu ju* 悟入(to penetrate the truth through enlightenment). Yen Yü's theory has been criticized by many people. However, as his proponent, Wang Yü-yang 王漁洋 inherits and develops the ideas of 'spontaneity', 'enlightening inspiration' and 'unanalysable subtlety' put forth by Yen.

Not only *shih*-poetry but also *tz'u*-poetry is, more or less, permeated with Zen. The preface of *Pai Ming Chia Tz'u* 百名家詞 is full of Zen quotations used to describe various styles and nuance of *tz'u*-poetry. From the Sung Dynasty onwards, many *tz'u* collection also named with Zen expressions.

5. Literary Criticism and the Buddhist Sutras

Liu Hsieh 劉勰, though famous in recent times for his classic work *Wen Hsin Tiao Lung* 文心雕龍, was renown in his own time

as a learned scholar of Buddhism rather than as a literary critic. And yet, terms frequently used in T'ang literary criticism such as *hsing* 興 (inspiration) and *wei* 味 (taste) are drawn from the *Wen Hsin*.

Beginning with Chiao Jan 皎然, a monk of the T'ang Dynasty, and author of the unfinished *Shih Shih* 詩式, many works of literary criticism have been written by monks. During the Sung Dynasty, the custom of employing Buddhist terms in literaty criticism was cultivated. There are four points worth mentioning:

(1) The tradition of using the term *nan pei tsung* 南北宗 to signify the bipartite schools in the study of classics, literature and Buddhism can be traced back to the Six Dynasties. This terminology became well established after Chinese Zen split into the *nan tsung* 南宗 (Hui Nêng 惠能)) and *pei tsung* 北宗 (Shen Hsiu 神秀).

In his book *Bunkyo Hihuron* 文鏡祕府論, Kukai 空海 makes use of the term *nan pei tsung* to refer to the two different styles of prose represented by Chia I 賈誼 and Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 respectively.

In the field of poetry, Chia Tao 賈島 called the more abstract and metaphoric style *nan* 南, the more concrete and direct style *pei* 北. The monk Hsü Chung 虛中 also classified poetry into *nan* and *pei* schools; however his criteria of classification are rather obscure.

(2) The monks of Yün Men school 雲門 had the tradition of using the following three expressions to signify three types of Zen sayings or states in religious training:

A. *han kai ch'ien k'un* 涵蓋乾坤 (to embrace the universe)

B. *chieh tuan chung liu* 截斷衆流 (to stop all the streams)

C. *sui po chu lang* 隨波逐浪 (to follow the tide)

Methods of explaining these three expressions vary from Zen-master to Zen-master——some of them extract lines from poems, some use metaphors or even gestures. The verbal exemplifications of these expressions are sometimes very poetic. Yeh Meng-te 葉夢得 makes use of these three expressions to describe Tu Fu's 杜甫 poems; and poems of other poets can also be categorized in this way.

(3) Su Tung-po 蘇東坡 (and also Yen Yü 嚴羽) suggest that in writing poems, one should '*hsiang shang*' 向上(aim for the sublime) ——a term borrowed form the Zen school. That Su used a Zen expressions to discuss poetry is hardly surprising, since Zen is an integrate part of Su's poems and Su's creation is often inspired by

Zen experience. In fact, some of his poems can be considered Zen verses (*chi* 偈).

Huang Shan-ku 黃山谷, a poet who understood Zen profoundly, applied the Zen term *yen* 眼 (eye, insight, pivot) to the analysis of poetry. Following Huang, Yen Yü and Fan Wên 范溫 also adopted this term in their literary criticism.

Although both Su and Huang's theories of poetry are rooted in Zen, it appears that Su can better abstract the essence of Zen while Huang seems too involved in the form and skill of verse-making.

(4) The introduction of the notion *ching chieh* 境界(literary dimensions) is generally attributed to Wang Kuo-wei 王國維. This term, however, though not used in exactly the same sense, was employed to describe literary compositions by Li Ch'i-ch'ing 李耆卿 in the Sung Dynasty. Moreover, the word *ching* 境, in combination with other words, appears in the poetry criticism of Chiao Jan 皎然, and Wang Ch'ang-ling 王昌齡. (The term *ching chieh* 境界 was first used in Zen saying and has the sense of boundary, realm, precinct.)

Wang's theory '*yu wo chi ching*' 有我之境 (a poem in which the self of the author is expressed) and '*wu wo chi ching*' 無我之境 (a poem in which the self of the author is unexpressed) falls into the framework of Lin Chi's 臨濟 theory.

SUPPLEMENT:

Tsung yi JAO "The four liquid vowels ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, ḹ of Sanscrit and their influence on Chinese literature"

—translated by Mun-Kyung KIM, Kyôto University

II A study of Yuan Shen's dreams

Michiko TAKAHASHI, Kyôto University

Yuan Shen 元稹 (779 - 831) was a great mid-T'ang poet who is often cited along with Pai Chu-i 白居易. Although many of his poems are descriptions of the content of his dreams, he does not reflect the archaic approach that considers dreams as premonitions and believes in the concordance between dreams and reality. Moreover rather than creating a poem by abstractly inserting his emotions on

awakening, Yuan plainly describes his dreams—they are primarily dreams of sorrow—as his actual experiences. Especially in his long poems he focuses his attention on the content of the dreams themselves, with no element of striving for effect. He does not ask too much of his dreams, nor does he distrust them, but simply describes his dreams with the passage of time. In this way the minute descriptions of the details of dreams make it possible, by creating and rerealizing a complete world, to clarify the consciousness of those objects dreamed and to have deep insights into reality.

This method shares certain aspects with the treatment of dreams in the *ch'uan-ch'i* 傳奇 novels that were popular in the mid-T'ang, and it is possible to think that he was influenced by them. But for Yuan Shen a dream is not a means of forgetting troubles and avoiding reality, and his attitude toward the creation of a poem is always realistic and intimately connected to daily life.

Apart from this, however, there are cases where a dream is used in order to exaggerate and beautify a sweetly beautiful world. But even here Yuan's basic attitude toward dreams remains the same: that is, the realization that a dream disappears all makes the contrast with the time after awakening distinct. And he is aware also that describing a dream goes beyond one's own experience to the broader level that includes readers as well, and that a dream has its own life in and of itself.

Generally speaking, however, it is difficult to detect a concentrated image in the word dream in the works of Yuan Shen. We must wait for later poets to impart colorful images and depth to dreams. But it is fair to say that during the mid-T'ang when general interest in prose became widespread and the *ch'uan-ch'i* novels that were often based on dreams popular, it was Yuan Shen, creating many poems with the description of his dreams, who cultivated the trend of introducing dreams as the subject matter of poems.

III The dramatizations of the novel *Li Wa Chuan*: 李娃傳 the '*Ch'ü chiang ch'ih*' 曲江池 and the '*Hsiu Ju Chi*' 繡襦記.

Mun-kyung KIM, Kyôto University

The novel *Li Wa Chuan* by Pai Hsing-chien 白行簡 of the mid-T'ang is a story of the love between the courtesan Li Wa and the son of an official, and was influenced by the popular tale *Yi Chih Hua* 一枝花 said to have been heard by the author's elder brother, the poet Pai Chü-Yi, 白居易 and Chü-yi's friend Yuan Chen, 元稹. In it are skilfully woven an abundance of T'ang period customs as well as place names of the Ch'ang-an 長安 of that time.

In Sung the novel appears to have been recited as a story in crowded urban places, remembrances of which can be traced in the *Tsui Weng tan lu* 醉翁談錄 and the *Lü Ch'uang Hsin Hua* 綠窓新話.

In the Yuan dynasty the work was adapted as a then very popular *tsa-chu* 雜劇 drama: the *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih*. The *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih* now available has been transmitted in two texts, the *Yuan ch'ü hsuan* 元曲選 and the *Ku ch'ü chai ku tsa chu* 顧曲齋古雜劇 and there are differences in the content of the two versions. In this essay the *Ku ch'ü chai* text is regarded as being closer to the original Yuan form, and the *Yuan ch'ü hsuan* text discussed separately as a Ming revision.

Because of the restrictions imposed by the *tsa-chü* dramatic form the content of the *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih* in the *Ku ch'ü chai* version is rather different from the novel *Li Wa Chuan*, and the most important difference can be seen in the conclusion. That is the novel concludes with the father forgiving the son, while in the drama the son forgives the father.

The *tsa-chü Ch'ü chiang ch'ih* by the early Ming author Chou Hsuan-wang 周憲王 shows in both its form and its content the character of a transition from Yuan *tsa-chü* to Ming *ch'uan-ch'i* 傳奇.

The mid-Ming *ch'uan-ch'i* drama *Hsiu ju chi*, taking advantage of the characteristic length of the *ch'uan-ch'i* form, faithfully dramatized the entire plot of the novel *Li Wa Chuan*. But this faithfulness

is no more than on the surface, for the personalities of the main characters are to a great extent distorted: the courtesan Li Ya-hsian 李亞仙 is portrayed as a completely chaste woman, and the leading male figure Cheng Yuan-he 鄭元和 as completely the scholar.

The *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih* in the *Yuan ch'ü hsuan* of the late-Ming Wan-li 萬曆 period is a revision of the original Yuan work done following the editor Tsang Chin-shu's 臧晉叔 own inclinations. Although we can see evidence that he made special use of the phrases of Chou Hsuan-wang's *tsa-chü* drama *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih* as well as Chou's *Yen Hua-meng* 烟花夢, we can see his intention to rebel against the content of Chou's *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih* and the *Su ju chi*. This is particularly apparent in the conclusion.

Thus the T'ang novel *Li Wa Chuan* underwent many revisions in the succeeding periods, and in those revisions are reflected the changes in the worldview of the various authors and periods. In this essay the course of these changes is considered on the basis of the works themselves.

TRANSLATION AND NOTES:

Sui shu ching-chi-chih (Bibliographical Section of the *Sui* History)

—Hiroshi KOZEN, Kyôto University and Kôzô KAWAI, Tôhoku University

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